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CUBA AFFAIR RAISES LARGE QUESTIONS ABOUT C.I.A.

WHO ERRED?

Agency Protests the Charges Against It

By E. W. KENNEDY

WASHINGTON, April 29—In a speech some years ago, Allen W. Dulles, director of the Central Intelligence Agency since 1953, momentarily disclosed that behind the hearty laugh he unfailingly presents to the world, there is a top-secret hurt.

"I am," he said, "the head of the Silent Service and cannot advertise my wares." This imposed silence, he confessed, he sometimes found "a bit irksome" since, "We know a bit more about what is going on in the world than we are credited with."

This week, the Silent Service found itself the center of a great uproar, precisely because its wares were being well-advertised in the post-mortems on what happened on the swamp-fringed shores of the Bahia de Cochinos, Cuba.

High C. I. A. officials found few buyers for their protests that the agency's intelligence estimates were not at fault. As each day brought a new revelation of the agency's role, the conviction became firmer that it had known far less about what was going on in Cuba than the White House, Pentagon and State Department had given it credit for.

Reprimand Barred

President Kennedy told his staff there were to be no reprimands against Mr. Dulles and Richard M. Bissell Jr., the high-ranking C. I. A. official who made the intelligence estimate. He could not, of course, damp down the capital gaggers who began talking about "the Bissell gap."

But the President also asked his brother, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, and Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, former Army Chief of Staff, to investigate the C. I. A.'s part in the invasion disaster and to study the nation's capacity to deal with the sinister forms of Communist aggression—subversion, infiltration and guerrilla warfare.

On Capitol Hill, for the umpteenth time, a resolution was introduced to establish a Joint Intelligence Committee on Intelligence, comparable to the Joint Committee on Intelligence matters on Atomic Energy, to maintain and make recommendations for some kind of continuing supervision over the C. I. A. and its various intelligence activities.

What, then, is the C. I. A.'s statutory authority? What is its principal function? What business of intelligence "opera-

FOUR IMPRESSIONS OF THE C. I. A. CONTROVERSY



Illustration in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch



Cartoon in The Philadelphia Inquirer



Cartoon in The Detroit News



Cartoon in The Fort Wayne News-Sentinel

principal criticisms have been leveled against it. The National Security Act of 1947 provided for a Central Intelligence Agency that would be responsible to the National Security Council, a Cabinet committee entrusted with the high defense and foreign policy questions.

Under the law, the agency was to (1) correlate and evaluate intelligence and distribute it to other departments; (2) advise the National Security Council on intelligence matters; (3) perform such additional services and "other functions" as the Central Intelligence Council might direct.

How big is it and how it was this latter language much does it depend? What is that put the C. I. A. in the principal function? What business of intelligence "opera-

tions"—not merely old-fashioned cloak-and-dagger espionage but elaborate projects like the U-2 aerial reconnaissance and the direction of essentially military operations like the Cuba invasion.

The agency was built around a nucleus of those with experience in the wartime Office of Strategic Services, many of whom had transferred to the intelligence services of the State and Defense Department. It is now estimated that the agency has 8,000 to 10,000 employees in Washington and several thousand more overseas.

Budget Undisclosed

Alone of all Government departments, the Central Intelligence Agency has no public budget and makes no public accounting of its funds. The agency's budget, which

is blanketed into those of other departments, is believed to run several hundred millions a year, but not more than sixteen ranking members of the Armed Services and Appropriations Committees of both houses know anything of C. I. A.'s appropriation and what it buys.

The principal task of the agency is to pull together the material that goes into what is known as national intelligence estimate. This material comes in first as studies prepared by the military services, State Department, Atomic Energy Commission, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and of course, the Central Intelligence Agency.

Gen. James H. Doolittle, who did a confidential report on intelligence operations for President Eisenhower in 1954, has observed: "The acquisition of in-

terpretation of intelligence is one thing; the interpretation of intelligence is another, and the use of that intelligence is a third."

In the Cuban affair, the C. I. A. has made marks on all three counts. It is not clear how the C. I. A. on the island, could have come to the conclusion that a landing of 1,500 men would have sparked a popular uprising on which the invasion depended. Certainly the independent reports of newsmen who had wandered up and down the island for months gave little support for such a belief.

Landing Issue

It is not clear, either, how the C. I. A. could have miscalculated the ability of Premier Castro's forces to bring their Soviet and Czech arms speedily

MANY ROLES

'Silent Service' Has A Widespread Field

to bear on the beachhead. And if there were no miscalculation on this score, why did the C. I. A. choose to land the rebels on a beach backed by impassable swamps with but narrow passages to high ground? The deep trouble is which the Administration now finds itself as a result of the invasion failure, it is believed here, finally established the validity of a criticism directed against the C. I. A. since its inception. This is that the two jobs of collecting and analyzing intelligence and of carrying out clandestine operations on the basis of that intelligence should not be combined in the same agency.

The British Practice

The British, who have had long experience in these matters, separate MI-6, their intelligence agency, from their special operations executive—and with good reason. The organization that is going to risk the lives of its operatives will give intelligence estimates a severely pragmatic appraisal, it is remarked.

On the other hand, when the functions are combined, the confidence which the responsible officials feel in the intelligence impels them to rush into action.

Furthermore, this willingness to back estimate with action seems to give the combined agency an added stature and to induce in political officers a suspension of critical faculty.

Doubts Concealed

Something like this must have happened, it is reasoned by observers here, because the State Department quite evidently never pressed in the White House the doubts that some of its high officers were known to have felt.

Strangely of all, the President never called a meeting of the full National Security Council devoted to the C. I. A. recommendations in contexts that should, except in direct emergency, have been controlling—the political effects of success achieved by violation of treaty pledges under the inter-American system and the political and psychological consequences of failure.

At the week-end there were indications that President Kennedy would not wait until the inquiry into the C. I. A. was completed before acting on the lesson of the Cuban affair. It was reported that responsibility for subversive operations will soon be given to the Department of Defense.

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TODAY SECT

U.N. FORCE BOLSTERS KASAVUBU

By HENRY TANNER

LEOPOLDVILLE, The Congo, April 29—Once again last week the army was the pivot on which the amazing Congo story turned. A handful of Congolese soldiers arrested Katanga's President Moise Tshombe at the airport of Coquilhatville and told him he could not return to his province unless he ended his differences with the other leaders.

It may never be known whether the soldiers acted on their own, whether they had orders from one or several members of the central Government or whether President Joseph Kasavubu and his ministers simply jumped at the chance to humiliate a dangerous rival and cut him down to size.

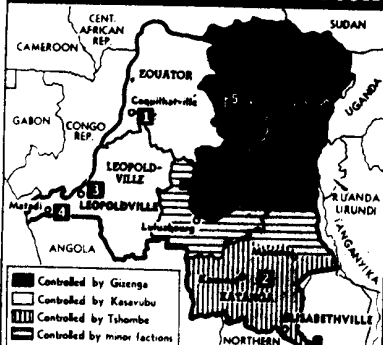
Before the episode was over it had changed the Congo scene more profoundly and irrevocably than anything that happened since the death of Patrice Lumumba.

Blow to Unity

This was the first time since his secession last July that Tshombe had been willing to set foot on the territory of the central Government. It was an act of trust—or more likely an act of supreme self-confidence.

Arrest of Tshombe and Belgians Is Major Blow to Katanga

CONGO: THE CONTINUING STRUGGLE



Congo leaders met in Coquilhatville (1) for still another conference, this one disrupted by the army. Soldiers arrested Tshombe of Katanga (2) when he tried to leave and sent five of his Belgian advisers to the U. N. command in Leopoldville (3) for interrogation. President Kasavubu relinquished

tangible expression to date of the recognition of the chief of state by the world organization. It gave new strength to the position of the President and to some extent, to that of Premier Joseph Ileo and his ministers.

The central Government some time ago had come to the conclusion that its best chances for achieving countrywide authority lay in a policy of cooperation with the Government were highly pleased with the first results of this policy. But they also had misgivings. They found it logical that the U. N. would make common front with them against Mr. Tshombe. At the same time they feared that under pressure from the Soviet bloc, from India and from some Africans, the world organization would turn against the central Government once Mr. Tshombe had been ousted. In justification of their fears they point out that Rajeshwar Dayal of India, whose relations with the central Government had been extremely tense, is due to come back soon as head of the U. N. mission.

U. N. Has Force

For the time being the members of the central Government

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